581 Moral qualities are often involved in the choice of a wife. But strictly speaking, the marriage is not one of reason; the cause of it is more likely to be affection.

The affective and sexual aspects of the question require longer discussion.

Therefore this chapter is divided into two parts:

I. The emotional life

II. The sexual life of the Nkundó [24]

Part 1

The Emotional Life of the Nkundó

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[Editor's Note: The Nkundó are capable of real affection. That affection takes varying forms and attains different degrees according to the nature of the persons in question. In successive articles, we will treat:

I. Affection among relatives

II. A special form of the latter: the creation of a Bolúmbó

III. Friendship

IV. Love between husband and wife]

Article I. Affection among Relatives

152 602 The Nkundó feel a deep affection toward members of their kin group. I am of the opinion that they love them as much, if not more, than most Europeans, but are not capable of as great a devotion. To understand this condition, one need only consider that affection is instinctive. Our people say: botéma nd'ikoma, "the heart is like a package," that is to say, it does not choose the object of its love, but rather the object presents itself spontaneously. (1) Devotion on the

1. Or lolango ale nsembe éy'otéma, "love is an innate, spontaneous product of the heart."

152 other hand almost always involves reasoning and is founded on a high
602 morality based on religion. Furthermore, the questions (of property, inheritance, etc.) which so often divide relatives from each other do not exist among the Nkundɔ, whose patrimony is held in common. [25] Among them the members of a family need each other absolutely and constantly; they cannot sustain the struggle for existence unless they remain well united. A man isolated from his kin is a pariah, for in all matters of importance he must count on them for help, protection, and defense. Therefore he is, so to speak, forced to make common cause with the rest of the family and to keep his proper place within it.

This may help us to understand that among these people there are fewer reasons for a cooling of family affections and more reasons for maintaining good relations. But it would be wrong to attribute their love to some kind of egoistic calculation. Their affection is sincere and spontaneous. But the above facts explain why the dis-
[578] unity and quarrels which are so frequent in Europe are unknown among the Nkundɔ; they are settled at once and do not have time to become bitter or deeply rooted. A very rare exception does not invalidate this generalization.

1. Parents and children

593x Parents sincerely love their children. Their affection is not lessened with age; there is only a somewhat greater tenderness toward the very young, whom they readily carry and fondle. The indulgence which they show for the faults of their offspring is tempered by anger when they are exasperated by misbehaviour, more often than by a rational concern for the child's training. The spouse who has not suffered from the child's error does not react against him but on the contrary is led by his affection to protect him. Parents insistently try to excuse and defend their children when they have misbehaved. (1)

1. It should be noted that the same thing may also frequently be done among many Europeans.

Nevertheless, the general good of the clan wins out over affection.

593 152 With reference to signs of affection, grief at the time of death, etc., the observations made for parent-child relationships hold true here -- mutatis mutandis.

3. Various relatives

602 The Nkundo's affection extends toward all members of his family, that is, all those with whom he feels linked by blood and common origin. These relatives are much greater in number than in Europe, because Nkundó kinship includes many more generations. The intensity of affection decreases with the distance of the degree of kinship. But the Nkundó knows and feels that he belongs to a large family, and he remains attached to all its members. He can find a home with any of them. This accounts for the fact that in the centers, men from the same village will look for each other and consider [621] each other "brothers." Actually, that is what they are, since in general each village consists of only a single kin group.

Although here, as in the case of brothers and sisters, common interests play a part in maintaining bonds between family members, the feelings of affection are not based on selfish considerations. The latter only reinforce these feelings, which are truly innate among the Nkundó. Among the various relatives the strongest attachments are developed between grandparents and grandchildren, uncles and aunts and nephews and nieces, male cousins and female cousins, etc.

603 Among the Nkundó as among Europeans there is a very strong affection between grandparents and grandsons, even greater, one might say, than between parents and children (the expression is: bɔ̌na [30] l'onkáná, ndekí nd'ɔ̌nkáná). But the relationship degenerates into compliance and weakness on one side, and into disrespectful carelessness on the other.

604 A Nkundó loves his paternal uncles and aunts and treats them like "fathers," and his maternal uncles and aunts like "mothers." Naturally, his feelings toward them are not as affectionate as for his parents, but they are an extension of these in an attenuated form.

605 The same situation holds true for the bonds which link him to his cousins, whom he calls "brothers" and "sisters." The children of his paternal aunt are his "fathers," however.

2: Hulstaert--27 M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32
Nkundu

Article II. The Bolímbó

562 556 178 In the old days, if an extremely rich man wanted to show his affection for one of his daughters and show off his wealth, he made that daughter bolímbó. Today this custom has almost completely disappeared. (1) It has been almost impossible to maintain the

> 1. On the left bank of the Luilaka it disappeared a good many years ago. The Injólo still followed it until quite recently.

practice because of a greater distribution of wealth and the reduction of leisure due to the work imposed by the white man. This work has been imposed directly in the form of forced labor, labor on roads, economic projects, etc., or indirectly because a sum had to be raised for the payment of taxes. All this has made it more difficult to bring large numbers of people together for ceremonies lasting days and weeks. (2) Nevertheless, the custom must be described here.

> 2. One might suppose that the new uses of wealth made possible by economic development would have contributed to the disappearance of this custom. Theoretically such might have been the case, but in fact these developments were not involved in the change that has been noted.

562 556 [602] When a native wanted his favorite daughter to become bolímbó, he had first to obtain the consent and financial support of all his kin. Then enormous preparations were made, for everything had to be special -- beverages, various foods, dances. On the date which had been set and made known through messengers to the entire region, an enormous crowd gathered at his house. Public festivities went on day after day. In an address suited to the occasion, he announced to those assembled his intention to set his daughter up as a bolímbó. Two relatives or two of the father's wives then stripped off the girl's

Article II. The ndonga

584 The ndonga is the guardian-keeper of the marriage; he is chosen by the parties involved and his participation as intermediary, witness, conciliator, or arbiter is required at every stage of the union. He is an official in the sense that his authority is derived from the very law which governs marriage in Nkundɔ society.

First of all, the ndonga is the indispensible intermediary for the payment of the bride price. Without him there is no legitimate marriage: Nkɔ́ ndonga ɔ́bɔ́ka baɓmba ɔ́ lontubɛ́, bɔ̌na ale ɔ́ bonto, "Without a ndonga you are throwing your valuables away at a total loss, and your daughter is but a slave," that is, she is not a wife. Legally, only the ndonga is qualified to act as witness.

The importance attached by the natives to the ndonga's participation is apparent in every moment of daily life. Thus if a woman has been beaten by her husband, her family can be heard to say: "Our daughter (sister) is no slave; she was paid for through the agency of a ndonga," bɔ́n'ɔ̌kisɔ́ ɛ́fa bokwɛ́la, bowɛ́ngɛ́kɨ́ ɛ́ la ndonga. Or she herself will retort in this manner, mutatis mutandis, to her husband or his family when in her opinion she is not being treated properly.

The absolute necessity for the participation of a qualified ndonga is very rarely mentioned by Europeans in the colonial administration. One would say that they are unaware of its importance though it is crucial.

584 178 602 In order to serve as ndonga for a particular marriage, a person must be related at the same time to both the future husband and wife or, as they say in Lonkundo, to be mbɔ́tswɛ́. Nowadays, because of the migrations of the natives, the ndonga who meet this qualification are rare in the centers and often cannot be found at all. Therefore, it has been necessary to adapt the traditional law to the situation. Hence a practice has developed [108] under such critical circumstances which consists in taking as one's ndonga a man whose integrity is generally recognized and who has every reason to be impartial and interested in the stability of the marriage. Thus it often happens that chief catechists assume the functions and responsibilities of this role.

584 Formerly, and even today in the interior, when two young people love each other but cannot find anyone qualified to perform the

583 received as bride price for a sister, aunt, niece, cousin, etc.

If he has no female relatives (efinanyi, bomena), or if no bride price to which he is entitled remains, he may receive a part or all of the needed capital from his father. The various members of his family each obtain either 2, 5, or from 10 to 20 rings for him [454] that they have been able to save from bride prices they have received or which they have acquired as belonga (see Chapter VI, Article V, 1), as any kind of remuneration (for work, for judging in a palaver, for mediation as ndonga, etc.), the sale price for animals, streams, or ponds, or as damages or settlement of some debt.

583 602 Indeed the worst mischance that may befall a man in love is not to have a bride price readily available and to have to set out in search of the necessary valuables anywhere he can find them. These trips take a good deal of time. For these things are not done with the great speed of nervous Europeans. He cannot simply send a message [133] to uncle X or to the husband of aunt Y, or even go to them and explain the purpose of the visit, and expect to be able to leave at once with a present. His hosts keep him for days and weeks. "Wait a bit, I will find some for you; stay a while longer, then we'll see; it's been so long since we've seen you, you can't leave so fast," etc. Quite often in fact it is entirely in the young man's interest not to leave in a hurry; he must sometimes perform a great many small services for them to win their good will, and it is even expected that he will perform larger tasks such as helping with clearing, building a hut, hunting, etc. A European would need the patience of an angel. But even the young natives, who are sometimes relatively nervous and excited, especially because they want to conclude the matter of the bride price, and who in any case do not as yet possess the calm of the older people to whom they go, must be capable of resignation and perseverance. Hence the proverbs: lokámo ntákundólaká bakonga ndá [539] lifaya, "haste will not dig up rings in foreign territory" (bakonga are often buried in the ground for better safekeeping -- a useful precaution particularly in the past, when there were brawls between villages, and raids), and bomwa w'inkóné ntásingólaká bakonga ndá lokendo, "a child's mouth does not unroll rings in the course of travels" ("unroll" -- that is, from the feet of the wife of the relative being visited).

583x 602 Thus there is no special family treasure upon which the various members can draw to obtain wives. But since bride prices paid out generally come from bride prices received, and all the wealth which comes to the family as such (that is, which is not the result of purely individual and personal work by one member) is to some extent owned by the members in common, it may be said in a sense that all the members of a family share rights in the wealth of the group. However, their rights exist only to the [134] extent of their kinship and as regulated by the family council.

Even members of the family who are not legally required to do so are not unwilling to give to a relative whatever portion they can save for him. Nevertheless, I know of isolated instances where assistance was refused, either out of avarice or of opposition to the proposed marriage. But such a refusal is a neglect of the duties of kinship, and its gravity depends on the relationship between the individuals involved. (1) A refusal on the part of the mother's family

> 1. Remember what has already been said, namely that we must always clearly distinguish among duties imposed by law and those imposed by kinship, friendship, decorum, courtesy, and social proprieties.

almost never occurs. For they have been enriched by the bride price received for the young man's mother, and consequently he is always entitled to the bride price paid for one of the daughters of his mother's nkita (a nkita is a woman obtained by means of the bride price that has been paid).

583x 604 Therefore he goes to his maternal uncle (nyangɔ́-mpámɛ́ (2)

> 2. Literally, "male mother."

or nya-ngɔ́bika among the Wăngatá, Bakáala, and Lifumba). This uncle always helps him, whether his means are great or small. Under certain conditions the nephew may even claim rights over his uncle's harem. But here we must distinguish between different cases. (Let us

583 607 [595] of the bongíji." (1)

1. This term also designates the wife of a polygamist who has brought along one of her relatives as co-wife; she is the nyangôngili [sic] of the latter. (See Chapter VII, Article IV.)

For "to obtain a nkita" the Nkundó say -umba nkita, literally, "to fell a nkita," as one fells a tree or an adversary. Or they may say -bâta nkita, "to possess a nkita" (umba or bâta so-and-so, la nkita). "To become a nkita" would be rendered as -kwɛ́ nkita, "to fall into being a nkita."

583x 596 The hierarchy of those entitled to the bride price is based on the general hierarchy of family members, which gives precedence to the older generations and, within each generation, to the older members. Consequently, as long as a member of the family having the title of isɛ́ (father) is unmarried (unless he is physically or mentally incompetent), no bɔ́na (son) is entitled to a bride price, even if it is that of his own sister. Within the same generation, the older members have precedence over the [165] younger ones, but boys have priority rights to the bride price of their uterine sisters. (1)

1. For limitations and exceptions to this right, see Chapter IV, Article II.

It occurs quite often, and was even more frequent in the past, that the person entitled to the bride price is still too young to get married, either in reality or in the opinion of his "fathers." (2) The

2. See ibid.

bride price is consequently used for the benefit of another member of the family. The creditor reaps the benefits later in the form of inheritance.

●[602] Even if the woman or women meant for him should die or be taken in slavery, he can obtain the bride price of a cousin to which

583 x 596 ●602 no one has direct rights (for instance, if she is an only child) or that of his mother's nkita's daughter, as we will see below.

In these instances there is a temporary suspension of rights or rather a change in the individual entitled to them. These adjustments are made very frequently and can affect several people. Bride prices may even fall to fairly distant relatives, even in the maternal line. The transactions are performed by the patriarchs for the greatest good of the family as a whole. New rights benefiting the person originally entitled to the bride price are being created, and 583 x 607 the woman married by its means has become the equivalent of a nkita in relation to him -- as is the following instance:

Bakutu b'Ɔ̃fɔ́ngɛ́ (Boniface) of Bombɛ́nga w'ɔ̃kenda (Besombɔ̃, Bombwanja) has a sister Wɛ̃tsi, whose bride price serves to provide his paternal uncle, Elongama ɛ́y'ituta, with a wife, Ikɔ̄kɔ̄ of Ndongɔ́-Bongíli. Bakutu's rights over his niece, Bakutu, daughter of Bolɔ́fo, are transferred to Bofɛ́nda d'Ɛkɔ́kola, son of his paternal great-aunt Etáka and therefore, in Nkundɔ́ terminology, to his father. As a result he obtains the rights over the bride price of Wǎngi, the daughter of his uncle [166] and Ikɔ̄kɔ̄. At the same time he acquires a certain authority over Bofɛ́nda, the beneficiary of the bride price that was originally intended for him, and over the latter's children.

When the bride price is meant to procure a nkita, there is nothing to prevent the remainder, should there be any, from being used to pay a debt, a fine, etc., or, more especially, from being given to a relative so that he can procure a wife for himself.

If, in an exceptional case, the bride price is not used for its [684] original purpose, this deviation constitutes an infraction of the law, because it is a violation of the rights of the girl for whom the bride price was paid, for she is thus deprived of her nkita and consequently of certain advantages. It may happen, however, that there is a conflict between this law and some other. In such cases of circumstances beyond one's control, it is up to the legal authorities to determine which of the two has priority.

Such was the case of Bolɛ̄i, daughter of Ɛ́folɛ́ y'ɔ̃ngúmá, of the Basɛ́kɛ́ Longwâne of Bonjoku (Bonkoso). She was married to Bombɛ́lenga

583x 607 of Likolf. The bride price went to her uncle Botɔ́lɔ́, because her father had been taken prisoner of war by the Bongale. The family council decided to free Ifoli before contemplating the acquisition of a wife. Botɔ́lɔ́ therefore paid his brother's ransom. Naturally, Bolɛ́i was greatly annoyed to have to submit to this decision but, taking everything into consideration, she too thought that the liberation of her father had priority over her right to a nkita, of whom she was now deprived. For although the Bongale were able to obtain a wife thanks to the ransom, the wife was not Bolɛ́i's nkita, since each family takes only its own members into consideration.

583x 602 607 As we have already implied, the nkɔ́lɔ́ derives certain advantages from "possessing" a nkita. Her superior position, from the Nkundɔ́ point of view, entitles her to respect and to some assistance. An even greater advantage is her right to the dowry. As we have [167] seen, a husband keeps a small part of the dowry for household necessities; the greater part of it goes to the nkɔ́lɔ́. Finally, the son of the nkɔ́lɔ́ has the right to his say in his mother's clan, because it has been enriched by means of valuables paid by his father's clan. He also has the right to cultivate land belonging to his mother's clan and to settle on it. Furthermore, when a member of his mother's clan is enabled to obtain a wife by means of these valuables, he has certain rights over the children of his mother's nkita, and even over the nkita herself. (1)

1. See above, Article IV, 3, and Chapter III, Article II.

In relation to the children of his mother's nkita -- whom he calls his bɛkwá (2) or his mother's benkita (benkita bɛ́kámɨ́ bɛ́kí́ ngɔ́ya) --

2. Singular bokwá. The term is derived from the verb -kwá or -kwɛ́, "to fall" (see above).

the nkɔ́lɔ́'s son has the following rights:

1) The right to respect and assistance.

2) The right to sit on the family council which decides on the division of the inheritance (so that the deceased's own son cannot have

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a share of his father's goods without the consent of his nkɔ́lɔ́) or the use of the bride prices received for the daughters.

3) If he cannot obtain a wife through his own clan, he is entitled to the bride price of one of his bekwá if it is not first needed by one of her own uncles or brothers. The rights of the latter have priority over that of the nkɔ́lɔ́, unless he settles in his mother's clan. For in that case his rights have precedence over those of the brothers (though never those of an uncle), and he is next in line, after his uncles, to become head of the family. Since he is sister's son, the uncle's children call him "father" just as they call his mother, their paternal aunt, by the name of isɔ́mɔto ("female father"). He himself calls his first cousins bǎna, "children," and thus has precedence over them. [168]

Thus the rights to authority over the daughters of the nkita on the part of the nkɔ́lɔ́'s son are limited by the rights of the uncles and, to a certain degree, of the brothers. (1) But in the inheritance

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1. In his study "Het Familiehoofd bij de Nkundo-Negers" [The Family Head among the Nkundɔ́ Negroes], Congo, 1930, Vol. 2, p. 332, Father Brepoels somewhat exaggerates the rights of the nkɔ́lɔ́'s son.

of widows the rights of the nkɔ́lɔ́'s son operate fully, and he may claim the one acquired by means of his bokwá's bride price, who in a way is his nkita (when she is assigned to him they say balá ɛ́kɛ́ nkita, "here is your nkita").

These rules can result in multiple transactions and in a repeated transferring of rights from one of the two clans to the other as well as within the same clan.

The nkɔ́lɔ́'s grandsons call the nkita's grandsons nkwá y'ǎúmbá, "the excrements of valuables" (an expression which is not at all disrespectful or shocking) because the rights derived from the relationship of nkɔ́lɔ́ and nkita are almost without force. In favorable circumstances they are limited to a little respect and assistance. And if the nkɔ́lɔ́'s grandsons have no other kinship tie with the paternal clan of their second cousins, they cannot even call them by that name.

583 x
602 Thus the person who is herself the object of a bride price is
607 the nkita. The first generation born of the nkɔ́lɔ́ calls her bonkita. In the third generation the term nkwá y ǎ́ámbá is applied to the relationship.

For example:

mother	Lokɔ́njɔ́	nkita of Bekombe
son	Imana	bonkita of Ifangá
mother	Lokɔ́njɔ́	nkita of Bekombe
son	Imana	
grandson . .	Etsíha	benkita of Ifangá
mother	Lokɔ́njɔ́	nkita of Bekombe
son	Imana	bonkita of Ifangá
grandson . . .	Etsíha	nkwá y'ǎ́ámbá of Litáola

[603] [169] The bonds between the nkɔ́lɔ́'s grandsons and the nkita's grandsons are loosened because respect and authority between grandparents and grandsons are more or less nominal; in practice they no longer exist. (1)

1. See Chapter VI, Article VI.

If the nkɔ́lɔ́ leaves no descendants, the nkita's sons are freed from any obligation. Just as the Nkundɔ́ like to be able to call someone their nkita or their bokwá so, too, they take pride in not belonging to a nkɔ́lɔ́.

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607 Men who bear the title of nkɔ́lɔ́ may, under given circumstances, have duties towards their benkita, especially the obligation of taking active part in getting together the amount of a bride price. If the nkɔ́lɔ́ has provided his bonkita with a wife, the latter must treat him like his father (giving him assistance, the father's portion of the meat of a game animal, etc.).

M 624 582 untangle all the threads. Thus it happens that young people form relationships with the intention of marrying without knowing that they are related; they are warned only by the opposition and ensuing explanations of the elders.

We may conclude that marriage among descendants of a common ancestor is generally prohibited if they live in the same village. It is frequently permitted on the other hand, if they belong to different villages, provided that they are not, at the same time, related to one of the ancestresses.

M 582 835 Clearly, it is difficult to say what precise degree of kinship formed the basis for the prohibition of or permission for a marriage between descendants of a common ancestor, or what are the boundaries of an exogamous grouping.

It is also apparent from the preceding observations -- as M [611] from the examination of affinity as an obstacle to marriage -- that the descent from a common mother is a more important factor than descent from the father. This does not give proof of a form of matriarchy, though it could be the remains or the beginning of one, or could provide a partial explanation for one. It stems quite simply M [842] from the Nkundó notions concerning procreation, in which they M attribute the major role to the mother. There is also the fact that [602] greater shame is attached to being united with a person descended M [583] from the same woman, and finally the fact that they feel a stronger affection for the mother than for the father (a sentiment [250] which is accentuated by polygamy). The three causes are closely related.

Finally, it should be noted that there is a group among the M 184 582 Nkundó we are discussing which is less strict than the others in this matter. The relatives among whom marriage is prohibited is definitely more limited; that is, their exogamous groupings are more limited. The people in question are the Bongale (see Introduction), and the same phenomenon may be observed among the Elínga. (1)

P [582] 1. The Batswa are still more liberal, and in this respect their practices differ very little from ancient European laws and customs.

582 their intervention is greatly reduced by the fact that much of their
64 authority has been shifted to the chiefs named by the colonial administration, and also by all the contingencies of modern life. Since on the other hand, the young people are gradually breaking the ancient limits in order to acquire greater freedom, the elders will one day have to yield to them.

Article IV. Affinity

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●602 Affinity among the Nkundó should not be understood to have the meaning given in European civil or ecclesiastic law. Marriage is forbidden with all persons who are bakilɔ́ (Sing. bokilɔ́). (2)

2. Contrary to the statement by Father Kaptein (Congo, 1922, Vol. 1, p. 541).

Therefore one must know what persons are called bakilɔ́, a fairly complicated problem for us Europeans.

To make the matter more understandable, certain considerations must be developed before giving the general rules.

1. General considerations

1) Affinity is not as great an obstacle to marriage as kinship. It is possible to obtain a sort of "dispensation," and for many degrees of affinity, divorce or death removes the barrier. But there are transgressions [252], and, except for the few indicated above, these do not occur in cases of kinship.

The following legitimate reasons for a "dispensation" are given: a danger that the patrimony will be scattered because of the infidelity of a wife who absolutely refuses to remain with her husband, added to the difficulties of a divorce palaver and the subsequent reimbursements, and -- a reason closely linked to the one just given -- a passionate love between the two people who are relatives by marriage.

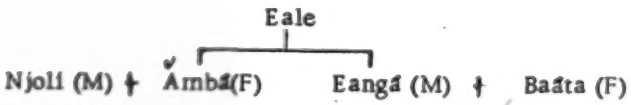
2: Hulstaert--234 M-5 (ca. 1930) 1938 FO32 Mongo FO32 Nkundu

582 602 The dispensation is given by the ndonga acting with the family council, which often yields before the fact, particularly if the second reason is involved. (1)

1. "To give a dispensation" is translated as kilola. A marriage contracted with a legitimate dispensation or one accorded because of the pressure of the accomplished fact is called kilɔkilɔlá, or "an affinity which is not maintained according to the regulations."

[671] 2. Contrary to European law, which recognizes only a direct affinity between husband and his wife's family, Nkundɔ́ law also recognizes an indirect affinity, so that a person is affinally related even to the spouses of his wife's relatives. That is, each person is affinally related, not only to his spouse's kin, but also to their relatives by marriage. Thus, in the example below, Njoli and Baáta are true relatives by marriage, though indirect ones. (2)

2. The Nkundɔ́ do not make a terminological distinction between the two types of affinity. We are using the terms "direct" and "indirect" for the sake of convenience and clarity.



There is an important difference between the two types of affinity: direct affinity is a much greater obstacle to marriage than indirect affinity, and exceptions are made only rarely and only for certain degrees of relationship.

582 602 57 3) A distinction must be made between "superior" and "inferior" relatives, that is, between those who have [253] precedence

582 602 [576] and those who owe submission and respect. The "superior" relatives are the ascendants, uncles, aunts, etc., in short, all those bearing the title of "father" or "mother," as well as elder brothers (elder sisters, elder cousins, etc.), who are batɔ̆mɔ̆lɔ́ (sing. botɔ̆mɔ̆lɔ́). [601] The "inferiors" are the descendants, those who are called "children" (bǎna): sons and daughters, grandsons, nephews, nieces, younger brothers or sisters, and those who are classed with them and called bakǔnɛ́ (sing. bokǔnɛ́).

[595] [587] 4) Polygamy and the inheritance of widows introduce another element. We will see that although persons of certain degrees of affinity may not marry, the prohibition is lifted to permit the inheritance of widows.

5) Our term "relatives by marriage" the Nkundɔ́ term and bakilɔ́ are not synonymous, even with respect to direct affinity. When we use the term "relatives by marriage" here, we are speaking in Nkundɔ́ terms. They do not consider certain persons whom we would include in that category as "relations by marriage." Such persons [601] are included in the group which as a whole is designated as likilɔ́ or bakilɔ́, but when properly and accurately referred to they are called bǒme, "husband," or wǎli, "wife," because they may marry each other and therefore affinity, strictly speaking, cannot be applied to them. In other words, for the Nkundɔ́, affinity is the relationship of a person with (only) those of his spouse's relatives whom he is forbidden to marry. It is well to bear in mind the double meaning of this term.

2. The rules

1. Direct Affinity

582 603 606 A. Marriages are prohibited in the direct line. Nevertheless, in accordance with consideration number 4, a son or grandson may inherit or marry the widows of his father or grandfather, but not the reverse. [254]

582 607

Example 12

Bakúkú (F) + Wanja (M) Wai (M)

Wai may always marry Bakúkú [256].

Example 13

Lompolé (M) Mbangó (M) + Njoli (F)

Lompole may not marry Njoli. Very rarely an exception is permitted.

582 605

Example 14

Mpónga (M) Mpinga (F) Bongonda (M)

Longanja (M) + Bolanga (F) Boékwá (F) Imonó (F) Ngoló (F)

Longanja may not marry his elder cousins, but he may marry the younger ones with the exception of Boékwá who is bónankáná and has a "father's" rank (see above).

Similarly:

Example 15

Mpangá (M) Efóle (F) Ilánga (M)

Isúka (F) + Botólo (M) Bonina (M) Esílé (M) Isongá (M)

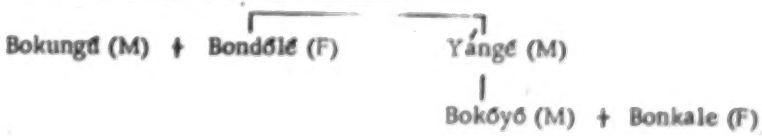
Only Botólo's younger cousins may marry Isúka. Bonina is bónankáná, therefore "father," and consequently included among the uncles (see B, above).

[602] Note, finally, that the more distant the relationship, the less strict the prohibition, that is, dispensations and exceptions are more easily accepted.

582 The same rules are applicable to aunts and uncles, but they
604 are less strict:

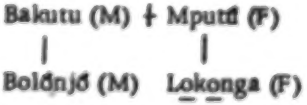
Example 18 (comparable to Example 16):

Example 19 (comparable to Example 17):



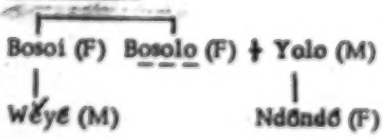
582 B. Marriage between affines who are collaterally related through their
595* lineal relatives:
605
[602] a) Marriage between descendants [of the lineal relatives through whom the affinity is established] is strictly forbidden. Thus, the children of two spouses may not marry each other; they are considered brothers and [258] sisters. The same rule applies to two half-cousins (Example 21).

Example 20:



Marriage between Bolónjó and Lokonga is strictly prohibited.

Example 21



Marriage between Wěyé and Ndóndó is prohibited.

b) Marriage between ascendants [of the lineal relatives through whom affinity is established] is forbidden, but an exception is made when the affinity is broken by death.

Example 22:

Bombálé (M) Nkanga (F)
| |
Mámó (F) + Baóso (M)

Marriage between Bombálé and Nkanga is forbidden.

Example 23

Efoloko (F) Itokó (F) Kóngó (M)
| |
Efole (M) . . . + . . . Bokokó (F)

Marriage between Itokó and Kóngó is forbidden, but permitted upon the death of either Efole or Bokokó.

Dispensations and violations of this rule do occur.

C. Affinity in collateral line arising from a marriage between relatives in collateral line: The rules are the same as for direct affinity in collateral line (see above, no. 1), C.)

Example 24

Bokaé (M) Lokánga (M) Ndékó (M) Bokelé (F) Mbála (F) Bonjéngo (F)

Bokaé is married to Bonjéngo. Neither he nor Lokánga may marry Bokelé, and Ndékó may not marry Mbála [Translator's note: the table shows Ndékó to be female, but I have corrected the error]. If he had married Bokelé, Ndékó could marry Mbála. Furthermore, if Bonjéngo were Mbála's senior, then Lokánga could also marry Mbála. [259]

573" 574 ɔtswɛ́kɛ́ lisɔ́la otswɛ́k'olɛ́, bɔ́fɔ́kolaka mbɔ́k'ɛ́y'olɛ́ la ngɔm'a nkolé, "If you are married go back to your parents, or you will be taught the way with drums and gongs," that is, "when you are dead." (2)

[164] [604] 534

2. A woman is buried in her own native clan. Her corpse is transported there to the accompaniment of drums and horns. The lokolé gong announces her death.

573' 602 A married woman may not evade the duty of helping her relatives under special circumstances (pregnancy, illness, serious accidents, death). This obligation [285] is not limited to her mother and father, but extends to all her relatives; the closer the degree of kinship, the stricter the obligation.

Besides, love of family is sufficiently developed so that there is no danger of the woman forgetting herself too much in this realm. [626] And a husband who would like to prevent her from fulfilling these elementary duties would be much criticized by all and should expect a dissolution of the marriage.

573^ 574 342 532 It was said above that a husband builds a hut for his wife. His relatives often assist him in this task. But it also happened -- in the past, for colonization has removed the possibility of it -- that the woman's father wanted to build his daughter's house himself or at least to make the pavement out of clay brought from her native land. This act was a demonstration of wealth and politico-social importance as well as proof of fatherly affection. The husband, for his part, was honored to have married the daughter of such an important man and loved her all the more. Thus a number of women say that "they only cooked on ancestral soil." This soil was brought in baskets across distances up to 50 kilometers by Batswa and by men of the woman's clan or village. Her father could do it because of his great influence and regal rewards (bokɔ́ndo, verb kɔ́nda) were distributed during a feast (ntɛ́kɛ) given for the workers and their relatives after the task was completed. This was done for Bɔmpɛ́li, daughter of Bɔkɔmbɛ of Litɔ́li (Bombwanja) married to Bɔnyɛ w'enyuka of the Basɛ́kɛ́ Mbangɔ (Bonkoso); for Beluka, daughter of

4. Treason

628
602 Treachery and treason between relatives by marriage were not unusual. The proverb says bomóng'ósulu nd'ókilo, "treason exists [294] chiefly on the part of relative by marriage." Not that this happened through any fundamental maliciousness apart from perhaps some rare exception. But in case of a war or particularly of a vendetta, relative by marriage did not hesitate to betray his in-law and thus send him to his death.

We shall limit ourselves to giving two case histories which are well known to the current generation. (1)

1. I do not know exactly when these events occurred. In any case they date back to the time of the Independent State and to the beginning of the occupation.

At the time when the Ingende post was occupied by the white "Itumbambile" and that of Ikéngé by "Bosénjé," some men from
[266] Bofilé (Ikákema y'ósélo, Bombwanja) surprised an inhabitant of Bokuké (wÁngaté), killed him, and ate him. Shortly thereafter Lokwa jw'ótyelé, a man from Bofilé, went to visit his sister Edmé, who was married to Imbilé is'éy'osola of Ikonjé. It happened that the latter was a maternal uncle of the victim of the Bofilé men. Was Lokwa unaware of this relationship? Or did he trust his brother-in-law? Whatever the case he was well received. Nevertheless, Imbilé had not forgotten his nephew's assassination and went to inform his close kin of this good opportunity to avenge the murder. One evening they broke into the hut that had been placed at the visitor's disposal and found him there with his sister Edmé and his wife Lompoko. The
[266] two women managed to escape, but Lokwa was taken, killed, and eaten. Naturally, his sister Edmé did not return to her husband, and there was no question of a restitution of the bride price.

The second case dates from the same period. Two Batswa of
[266] Mbélanga (Etóontéle, Bongili), Bokéngo and Bolíyengé, surprised Mboko Ilombé of Bofilé in the forest, killed him, and ate him.

628 602 Some time thereafter, a man named Bengóngó from the Ndongó village of the Bongíli went to Bosíla to visit his sister Bosíka, who was married to Eale ɛ̂ Bofekó. The latter told him that the village was enraged because of the assassination of one of their people by the Batswa of the Bongíli. He advised him to go [295] and hide in the fallow ground lest excited men come upon him and revenge themselves on him. He led his brother-in-law there himself. Therefore he knew the exact location of his hiding place and ran to betray him to the others. They encircled the fallow ground and easily found [266] poor Bengóngó, who was pitilessly massacred and eaten. His sister Bosíka never knew of her husband's treachery; she thought that despite all his precautions, the other inhabitants had discovered her brother's hiding place. (1)

[649]

1. We should not be too astonished that during that period the Europeans did not intervene in these wars, vendettas, massacres, and acts of cannibalism. They let the natives do as they pleased among themselves and demanded only that they leave them alone and render them services and tribute. They had other things to do in those times. The white men Ǎmbá and Baisǎnkoi, of whom the natives still speak with respectful fear, were the first to begin punishing acts of barbarism in this region.

602 This hypocrisy on the part of the husband toward his wife and brother-in-law is due to the presence of two opposing feelings within him -- on the one hand, the love of his family and the feeling of solidarity which engenders hate and the desire for vengeance; on the other, love for his spouse. As these feelings are in complete contradiction with each other, he cannot reconcile them. But at least he can preserve appearances.

[539] This situation is referred to in the following proverb: bokilo ákwisáká, wɛ̌ngoyak'eyalo, "if your bokilo has hidden you, change

607 shelters." There is another, which is cruder: bokilɔ́ tɔ̂tswe nkɛ́lɛ́;
539 bafumba bɛ́leke mbɛ́, ení ɛ́kolɛ́kɛ́ wɛ̌, "relative by marriage, let us go to the palm grove; the bafumba ants (Dorylus wilverthii) eat palm nuts; I will eat you." The following saying, applied to someone who is always trying to clear himself, is a more or less involuntary accusation: mpɔ́l ɔ̂kilɔ́, ɛ́ɛ́fa ɛ́ mpɔ́ngo; mpɔ́ngo y'ɔ̂kilɔ́ nsako ngɛ́ mbwɛ́, "I do not eat my relative by marriage; on the contrary, I dip (food) in his fat; an in-law's fat is as tasty as a dog's." [296]

Nevertheless, a man never goes so far as to cause the death
602 of his sister's daughter's or other relative's husband. Or, as the
628 Nkundɔ́ say, one does not kill a person by whom one has been enriched. What is the reason for this distinction? According to our people it is the affection they feel toward their sister, daughter, etc.; they love them too much to pain them by taking away their husbands.

This treacherous and barbarous conduct is therefore directed by the bokilɔ́ toward the bokanga, that is, by those who have paid the bride price to those who have received it, but never the reverse.

Appendix

000 This appendix pertains to each of the three preceding articles. Therefore it may reasonably be placed here. It does not deal with any special law nor with a custom that is legal, universal, or common. It is concerned with isolated cases. But it seems to me that the few lines to follow are not without interest, since they give a good indication of the mentality that may be found among these people.

It may happen that a woman has a complaint or feels she has
602 cause to be dissatisfied with one of her relatives, for example her
578 brother. In her opinion he may not be sufficiently kind and generous toward her, or he may treat her in a manner she considers unfair. In a moment of anger she reveals her feelings to her husband and incites him to avenge her by injuring or even killing the one who has offended her.

That is what happened several decades ago to Bosela w'ɔ̂mpwengɛ́ of Bolɛ́nge (Bongili) (who died in 1932, a very old man). His wife Ilumbɛ́ was very dissatisfied in that her brother did not give

602 578 her enough gifts. She addressed her husband as follows: bejwɔ́ bɛ́kɛ́ ɔ́momɛ́lɛ́ nkɛ̂na, alekí ompímaka tɔ́ma, "Your corpses (deceased parents), kill my brother for me, he always refuses to give me [297] presents. (1) Whereupon Bosela took his weapons and went off.

1. This is one of the most serious insults. But a person to whom it is addressed considers it a duty to take up the order or invitation made in those terms. It is a sort of forced oath, and it is called tɛ́na ndaí, afeya (tɛ́nela) X ndaí. These terms may apply to many other situations: a call for help during a war, assistance in inflicting an ordeal, assistance in the ilɔ́ɛ́ (society of those who do not observe funerary abstinence), etc. A person may address himself in this manner, and in that case the expression corresponds to our word "oath," "to take an oath."

Being a good psychologist, he made no mistake about his wife's personal feelings. He knew that he was involved in a dangerous impasse: if he disappointed his wife's expectations, she would be furious; on the other hand, if he took his brother-in-law's life, she would be even angrier. The thing to do was to resort to a trick. When he entered the forest he had the good fortune to come upon a boende antelope, which he slaughtered. He removed the liver and went home carrying this organ, still fresh and warm, in his hand. He presented it to his wife, saying, "Here is the liver of your brother whom you asked me to kill." There followed a violent scene. The woman, beside herself, began to weep for her dead brother, and in her anger she ran off, shouting at her husband: "Oh! You no longer love me, since you have assassinated my brother; you will not see me again." When she arrived at the home of her family, she found everyone going about their usual occupations; there was no sign of death or, more especially, of murder. Her astonishment increased

602 578 when she found her brother in good health and full of life. She could not believe her eyes. In an instant the whole family was alerted and gathered together. She explained what had happened. They quieted and consoled her; they praised her husband for having behaved so intelligently. She was congratulated. For he could have done what she had told him, so she had reason to rejoice that he loved her so well and wisely. Thus, a few days later, she quietly returned to her husband.

An entirely different course of events, and a fatal one, occurred in the case of [298] Buk Éfea of Bompela (Bokátola) who was married to Elángé of Bofíá (both are still alive). The woman continuously went back to her family. Her husband, exasperated, threatened one day to kill her brother Eale; when he was gone she would be more inclined to stay home. He actually fulfilled his threat. His wife went into a terrible rage, but she nevertheless remained faithful to her husband. The bow used to shoot the murderous arrow has been preserved by its owner as a souvenir.

Article VI

Relations Between the Wife and Her Husband's Family

602 Naturally, a wife must be on the best of terms with her husband's family, with whom she is in continual contact. She owes respect to his parents and elders. If she does not manage to live in peace with them as well as with her husband's sisters, etc., the marriage will not last. Misunderstandings, disputes, squabbles, and, above all, insults and spiteful comments will force her to leave. Therefore, such contingencies can be put into the category of motives which lead the man's family to interfere in his marriage. There is a constant concern among the Nkundó to avoid the dissolution of the union due to extreme incompatibilities, because any break-up causes enormous difficulties, as we will see suo loco.

It is very hard to discern whether the small services the wife is expected to render her husband's family are legal obligations or simply requirements of social decorum. A momentary omission

602 brings forth reprimands on the part of the husband and his parents which obviously can easily degenerate into quarrels. If the omissions are so frequent and of such a nature that they can no longer be explained as simply forgetting, a whim, or a fit of peevishness, but [299] are taken to indicate spitefulness or vulgarity, the matter is [627] brought before the ndonga (who is often assisted by the family tribunal) or brought before the authority constituted by the woman's kin. If in spite of everything the expected improvement does not take place, the break-up is inevitable.

606 The husband's father and mother extend the same affection to their son's wife as they feel toward him. They consider her their own child, and it is not unusual to find that their love for the wife equals their feeling for their own son. She is only a relative by marriage, but out of affection for her they call her their child. She, for [601] her part, does not use toward them the term bakanga (or bakilɔ́) but out of filial respect calls them "father" and "mother." Exceptions to this practice may be found, however.

606 224 If the father (and those who fall in the same category such as uncles, elder brothers, etc.) kills a large game animal, he is expected to give his son's (or brother's, etc.) wife a piece of meat, whose size depends on the number of daughters-in-law he has and which consists of one or several chops (bokálako) (1) and the piece at

1. Called lieto among the Bolengé and the tribes of the Losanganya.

the nape of the neck (botómbyá).

606 835 Illicit relations between the husband's father and his daughter-in-law would be an unheard of crime. The same would be true with respect to any of the "superior" relatives. (2) The laws regulating

[178] [194] 2. Only the Boangi -- like the Elángá of the Losanganya - allow relations between a brother and the wife of his junior; and they are already beginning to find imitators among their neighbors to the southeast, the Injóló.

606 the relations between a wife and her husband's parents are closely
835 connected with the rules pertaining to the prohibition related to affinity and seems to spring from the same source. Therefore it will be useful to have in mind what we have said in the preceding chapter, Article IV.

The husband's elder brothers treat his wife as their sister.
607 The wife calls her husband's sisters [300] bakilɔ́, but out of respect she often gives them the title of "mother." (1)

[601]

1. Among the Elánga the wife also calls her husband's sisters bongíli (pl. bangíli); they call her bɔ̌nongíli (pl. bǎnangíli). A wife often calls her husband's mother nyangɔ̂ngíli. Bǎnangíli l'ǎnangíli means "the brother's wives and their sisters-in-law."

587 After the husband's death, as has been said suo loco, his father or his brother may marry his widow. But this practice is not well regarded and is permitted only rarely, chiefly when the scattering of the family patrimony is feared or if the two interested parties have an unusual love for each other.

837 With respect to children or younger brothers and all those who
602 fall into that category, the situation is altogether different. Illicit relations with wives of their father, grandfather, uncle, elder brother, or elder cousin, are judged much less severely. Generally, misconduct does not give rise to claims for payment, or the payment is demanded "for form's sake" and consists of a hen and a bunch of bananas. By means of this payment the guilty one recognizes his error and renders homage to the right of his elder.

[626] In general public opinion condemns these relations and often with great severity. The question of degree of kinship as well as other considerations result in a great diversity among the cases, so we will examine each situation separately and distinguish each time between the husband's reaction and that of public opinion.

837 Chapter II, Article XI, 2. But such a situation is far from ideal in
626 Nkundó eyes and is permitted only if, on the one hand, the son ardently loves the woman and, on the other, if the father is too slow in obtaining a wife for him.

837 Here then we observe a conflict between two feelings: a hus-
602 band's jealousy and the affection of a father and various relatives. That is why it is difficult -- as in many situations -- to draw the line between what is permitted and what is forbidden. From what has preceded and from the general explanations given by natives, we can conclude, however, that: [303] 1) relations between a woman and her husband's son are forbidden and severely judged, but with much more leniency than in the case of "superior" relatives; 2) the
[593] father may not go to extremes in repressing misconduct nor ask his own son to pay an indemnity, since to do so would be to enrich himself through his child's misbehaviour, and the latter would have no means of paying him except through him or his mother's clan -- and it would be very unjust and inappropriate to force him to have recourse to the latter.

B. A younger brother calls his elder brother's wife wálí, or
593* wife, and she calls him bómé, or husband, because they may marry
837 one another. Therefore adulterous relations may also be found
607 among them. But in practice some distinctions must be made.

If the younger brother is not married and the elder one has a harem, -- a state of affairs which was very common in the past but today is very rare -- the situation is analogous to the one described above in relation to a father's wife except that there is greater indulgence toward the culprit.

If the elder brother is monogamous and the younger brother a bachelor, relations of the latter with the former's wife when the husband is present are forbidden. If the younger brother nevertheless yields to the temptation, he is condemnable. The husband may not claim an indemnity. But in revenge he may procure for himself a "make-believe indemnity" (nyongo ea bolâlambo) by felling one of the culprit's banana trees, taking away his chickens, moving his hut, taking some other similar action. The purpose of these acts, according

603 837 626 184

higher morality -- in our terms. Among them the question of relations between a woman and her husband's son, younger brother, etc., does not even arise. Have they been influenced by some neighboring tribe? Or must we attribute the inferior morality of some of the tribes in this respect to decadence.

837 602

The following conclusions emerge from this long description:

1) Relations between a man and the wife of his son, younger brother, etc., in short of anyone inferior to him in the family hierarchy, are always strictly prohibited and never occur.

2) They do occur on the other hand between an inferior and the wife of his senior and superior. The degree of kinship between the husband and the culprit plays a considerable role in determining the seriousness or triviality of an infraction, the sanctions applied, and the various consequences. Some relations are accepted, others are censured with varying degrees of leniency, still others are pitilessly criticized.

3) In these matters a distinction may be made between two aspects:

a) the husband's reaction and the repression of the illicit relations;

b) the judgment of public opinion;

or:

a) the financial aspect;

b) the moral aspect -- to use that term for want of a better one.

Sometimes a third element comes into play, namely the intervention of the family on the side of the culprit against the injured husband who, for one reason or another, is in the wrong himself.

602 837 694

a) The usual sanction for adultery is, for the man, an indemnity to pay. But such a payment cannot be made since no financial transaction -- strictly speaking at least -- may be made

602 837 684 within a group of close kin, seeing that, from a certain standpoint, property belongs to all the members, each sooner or later receiving or inheriting from the other. But in cases where other sanctions can be imposed, they are considered legitimate. [309]

b) Except in the case of relations between brother and sister-in-law -- within the limits described above -- public opinion is severe in its judgment, even more severe than for ordinary cases of adultery, although because of the more tangible nature of the sanctions imposed against the latter, these seem on the surface to be considered more serious; many natives even have that impression. Or at least that is the first impression that spontaneously comes from their explanations; currently, they stress the indemnity, and in their accounts of ancient proceedings and violent sanctions, they forget the other aspect. Others do not distinguish between the two sides of the problem, or distinguish between them only very poorly. Only in going to the bottom of things do they -- like ourselves -- become aware of the two aspects and the importance of not confusing them.

626 837 602

The leniency we observe in certain cases on the part of the interested parties who have been wronged, and sometimes on the part of public opinion, does not seem to us to have been explained as a leniency based on principle nor as a legitimation of these relations (except in the case of brothers within the limits indicated). They seem rather to spring from the affection they have for the culprit, their sympathy for his condition as a bachelor, a certain community of interests, and finally from an evaluation of certain other elements that may be involved (such as a fundamental jealousy in the case of brothers).

602 191

The great distinction made by the Nkundó in this realm as in others between inferior and superior relatives is based on their conception of authority, which is patriarchal, therefore paternal. What is involved is not so much a fear of power as a reverent awe -- although the first should not be excluded. In their eyes an inferior does not exist for the benefit and advantage of the superior, but the reverse; authority exists for the good of the inferior, who to preserve hierarchy and order must submit to the [310] superior. The superior's duty to help his inferior (in his difficulties, his palavers, his poverty),

602 to be liberal and generous toward him and therefore to make goods
181 available to him, to be lenient in matters concerning justice and property and obliging in conjugal matters -- as long as the principle of authority remains secure is based on the same idea. The exploitation of an inferior by his superior is entirely contrary to the basic nature of Nkundó authority, while the reverse is entirely in conformity with it. (1)

1. This attitude may account -- at least to some extent -- for the liberties that the natives readily take with the European, their superior or master, such as domestic thefts, inappropriate requests, the kind of begging and lack of respect for authority that we are accustomed to seeing, etc.

Article VII. Adultery

837 For the Nkundó, adultery is an illicit union between a man and a married woman. From the moment the ikulá is paid for a woman, any relations with her by a man other than the husband-to-be are considered adulterous.

1. Terminology

There is no exclusive or specific term in Lonkundo by which our word "adultery" may be translated. There are a number of words in the language which are only partially equivalent to it.

1) First of all, the Nkundó speak of bongombe, a term denoting steady and continuous relations with a woman who is a complete stranger, that is, who is not related in any way. The word designates the relationship as well as the persons involved. This type of adultery is also called a wísamaka or linsámba já njísámá (from the verb ísama) -- that is, a secret, as against a true linsámbá (which will be

837 [196] 4) To indicate a tendency toward adultery (especially on the part of women) the Nkundó use the verb fâfoka which literally denotes clothing that is too big and that flies in the wind. The noun loyó or boyó is also used.

The verb used for discovering a case of adultery is tɛmbola, the noun is ntɛmbó.

Occasional or permanent adultery has always been very common. This fact is undoubtedly due to the relative ease with which it is possible to escape discovery and consequent sanctions. A woman [574] going to visit her family cannot possibly be followed or watched by her husband; the distances make such surveillance difficult and, furthermore, it would have disastrous consequences for the stability of the marriage, since neither the woman nor her family would put up with it. Other partial causes are lasciviousness, polygamy, etc., as we will see later in the text.

2. Gifts

837 431 An adulterous man and woman send each other presents; his consist of meat, arrows, etc., hers of food and various small objects. A woman's gifts to her lover are called botɯmo (the noun [602] used with the verb tumba, "to make burn" (1). Very young relatives

1. Note that the noun and the verb are not etymologically related. Perhaps botɯmo might be related to tɯma, "to show, to designate." The Ekonda call this gift elika. See Chapter II, Article I.

generally serve as intermediaries. Note that a woman rarely sends her son, for she has reason to fear that the gift would not reach its destination; the boy would give himself a treat with it. She can have more confidence in a daughter.

A man's gift is called by the generic term mpatɔ́, "a gift that is sent, a dispatch." [313]

In isolated cases (yɛ̌tsi) a man sends an arrow, some small object, beads, meat, etc. Nowadays money or cloth have been

593 Women in particular are very intolerant of having anyone touch
861 their children, even the child's own father. This fact can be attributed in part to a lack of any unity of feeling between the spouses and partly to maternal love, which is purely natural, psycho-physiological, so to speak.

Measures taken against a child who has misbehaved often
578 result in serious domestic quarrels, sometimes followed by the
861 wife's flight to her family. Such was the case of Bakutu b'Ofóngé (born around 1880). His father, Bolónjó, had forbidden him to peel a piece of sugar cane [513] in a clumsy and wasteful manner. The boy did not want to listen to reason. Next thing you know he had cut a deep wound in his finger. "What did I tell you?" shouted the father. "Now you are punished for your disobedience." Thereupon the mother, Mbélá, flew into a rage. "Oh! You are killing my child!" and so on. She rolled up her mats, took her baskets on her back, and took the path leading to her village.

Nkundó casuistry includes the case -- which seems hypothetical or at least belonging to the past, for I have never known or heard of a real instance -- of a man taking revenge on his wife for having insulted his child. His revenge took the form of ordering the child to go and kill a goat belonging to her mother's clan, thus obliging the child to pay an indemnity to the owner, so that the mother finds herself thus being punished by her family. The father's right to do this is recognized in Nkundó jurisprudence. But from the standpoint of education the solution is far from ideal.

5) The influence of the kin group also plays a great role.
602 The Nkundó are very much attached to their families. Their chil-
861 dren are at home everywhere in the group. A wife has very close ties to her own family. The father's brothers and sisters are a child's "fathers"; his maternal aunts and uncles are his "mothers." A child's real father does not do much to defend his son against scolding or punishment from his own close kin but does not readily accept the intervention of his wife's family, and vice versa. And again the child can take advantage of such dissension. The situation occurs quite frequently although there are many exceptions.

601 561 613 politically, his whole society is, in fact, based on those relationships which are incomprehensible to us. Indeed, the order of duty and responsibility, of authority and honor, are socially, legally, and politically determined by the order of birth. That order is determined by generation, and within the generation, by age: from the oldest father down the whole line of fathers to the oldest "child" in the whole row of children. The children of your older brother, even if they are younger in years, go before your own children. As we shall see later, the female members of the family, who practically fall outside this order, recover their place of honor through their sons.

613 From this short description of the paternal clan, it is immediately apparent that the clan is not a geographical concept among the K Nkundo. Wherever the daughter may marry, wherever the son may wander in service to the Whites, that person always and everywhere continues by law to belong to his wise, and he remains bound to all the rights and duties of his place in that community.

602 613 It also appears that clan and blood relationship do not come anywhere near to blanketing each other. Each "blood relationship" of the Nkundo extends itself over various paternal clans, since the blood relations of the mother, as well as the descendants of all the other women of my wise.who are lawfully married out of the clan, belong to another wise.

/152/ 3. Inheritance in the Clan

613 421 Each clan has possessions that constitute the inheritance or patrimony of the members, the domain of the family. These goods are of two kinds: economic and dotal. The former are subdivided into real property, or inalienable property, and personal property.

613 433 The real property of the clan consists of land and waters. The land is divided into: arable land, land for gardens, and hunting areas. These constitute common property, whose cultivation or usufruct is divided among the members of the clan: each one receives his garden land and hunting ground to clear; as soon as the user leaves it, that ground is free again for the community. Palm groves, of course, also remain common property of the members. A similar arrangement applies to water rights. Larger fishing areas remain common property and are, under the leadership of the clan head, communally exploited. Smaller fishing grounds, creeks, ponds, etc., are allotted to each

177 Although even St. Thomas teaches that the only natural authority is that of the head of the family, European legislation has, through ignorance, completely abolished the rights of the native family head; the wife is freed from all ties and is thus abandoned to licentiousness. Through a legal fiction, clan law has gone over into the hands of the "recognized native courts of justice," which, however, have just as much to do with the clan court as a policeman with a father. The communization of trade, education, and the rearing of the young, as is demonstrated to us by Russia, would revolutionize our society far less than our installation of these so-called native courts of justice has done in the Congo. Education and correction have been replaced by punishment. Politics, which have begun to play such an all-important 602 role in our society, had /155/ almost no importance in Nkundo society. 613 The neighboring clans were all connected with each other through blood relationship, intermarriage, or friendship ties. Only when there was a struggle against a foreign and common enemy did politics have a role to fulfill. And then the same order of rank was observed among the clans as was already indicated for the members of a single clan.

177 Here also, biased or romantic products of our ideas about barbarism 728 have adapted these so-called intertribal wars to the need that we felt, 622 to civilize the natives at any cost. These wars were not to be compared with our European wars, in which a mass of people are slaughtered. In the Congo, no sooner had wounded or dead fallen on both sides than the chiefs were already congregated to conclude a peace treaty. Here again, we meant to respect the political organization of the natives by the creation of chieftainships and native chiefs, who were to form the political-administrative link between the native clans and the European higher administration. Such chiefs were totally unknown in native society. Together with the establishment of the native courts, the establishment of chieftainships gave the death blow to the actual social organization of the Nkundo-Mongo. The very fact that these institutions are territorial demonstrates clearly that here no ordinary shifting of power has taken place, but simply an elimination of the traditional power in favor of a new colonial power.

177 Indeed, where formerly the "customary rightful chief" was sought 622 out, even though it was sometimes only a formality, the new formula of the "sectors" has relieved the higher administration from this care too. And it is only to be hoped that this new formula will at least do away with the legal fiction that the "chiefs" are actually "something native," so that they may be classified for once and for all in the

613 authority (mpifo). Each clan can, however, also take in other persons
614 who fall outside the order of authority, but who legally belong to the
608 clan. Along with the real descendants, they make up the legal clan.

These are, in the first place, the wives who have married into the clan, the children brought with them (mbusola), and the lawful housekeepers. In addition, there are the clients who have been taken in; then the war prisoners and slaves; and finally the Pygmies. The women married into the clan are naturally separate, as are also the Pygmies who form a completely separate community. The others are gradually treated as children, receive their part in the general responsibility and protection, their place in the court session, etc. Depending on the degree to which they develop in the bosom of the clan which has taken them in, they can constitute a separate group in it, which becomes more and more independent.

7. The Maternal Clan

602 Each Nkundo has a double "fatherland": his wise and his bonyango.
613 The bonyango is the paternal clan of his mother. His mother gave birth to him there; her blood relations live there and receive him with motherly love and will protect him against all difficulties; he has often passed a large part of his happiest childhood years there; and there he can always find a safe shelter when, for one reason or another, he might lose the paternal clan.

The structure of the maternal clan naturally resembles that of the paternal clan in every way. If we treat it specially here, it is not in order to speak of the form, but only to point out the specific rights that each person has in his maternal clan.

601 Just as all of the brothers and sisters of my father are my "fathers," so all of the brothers and sisters of my mother are my "mothers."
602 Mother's brother, that is, my maternal uncle, I call ngompame,
613 nyangompame. All the nephews and nieces on the mother's side are my "children." A special tie binds me to the children of the nkita of my mother, that is, to the children of the women who was acquired by the maternal clan with the bride price /158/ that had been paid for my mother by my wise. Mother is, thus, the nkolo, the woman or mistress, of those children who call me their father.

602 As long as I continue to live in my own paternal clan, I have the
613 right to special care and love from the maternal clan. If I cannot find

602 sufficient dowry at home, then I can always go and appeal to my
613 maternal uncles who are obliged to help me insofar as they are able. I even have the right to the free dowry of one of the children of my mother's nkita. I may always lay out gardens and hunt in the territory of my bonyango, and take part in the court sessions of the maternal clan when they consider the allotment of the free dowries or the division of the inheritance. If, however, I wish to leave my father's clan and establish myself for good in the maternal clan, then I receive priority in everything over my male and female cousins and become heir and clan leader directly after my maternal uncles. This is, thus, a truly princely compensation for the so-called inferiority of the woman in native society: the child of the sister (bonankana) restores her gloriously to the honor and rank which are due her.

8. Related Clan: Likilo

602 Outside my paternal clan and outside my maternal clan, I still
601 have blood relations: namely, the children of my paternal aunt and of my sisters or female cousins, each of whom belongs to the clan of his own father. Just as the children of my mother's brothers are my children, so the children of my father's sister are also my fathers. I am, thus, in the same relationship to the children of my mother's brother as the children of my father's sister are to me.

As far as the children of my sister are concerned, they are also my real banankana and, therefore, the fathers of my own children.

The other members of the related clans (who are thus not blood relations) all share, according to generation, in the classification of immediate relatives: all the "fathers" of the husband are "fathers-in-law"; all the mothers, "mothers-in-law"; etc. There is this single big difference, that the "superiors" of the husband are also your "superiors." According to the opinions of the Nkundo, they are the only real relatives. Those on the husband's side are called bokilo; those on the wife's side, bokanga.

/159/ The "subordinates" of the husband are not real relatives and rightly call each other "husband" and "wife." In various legally
[582] defined circumstances, marriage relations and marriages are permitted between the latter.

It is unnecessary to repeat that all of the members of the reciprocal clans share in these relationships: the whole generation of a clan

602 member is, as it were, identified with that member, so that, for in-
601 stance, all younger sisters and female cousins of one spouse become "wives" of all the younger brothers and male cousins of the other spouse. One must really have the legal sense and the patience and the capacity for palaver and unravelling of an old Nkundo to make sense out all of these relationships. They themselves compare them, in fact, with the inextricable clew of the intestines of a sort of dwarf crocodile: besofo bya lokekele.

9. Exogamy

613 582 The term, "exogamic clan," often heard or encountered in writings, is also, at least in the Nkundo-Mongo society, very misleading. The group of persons with whom marriage is forbidden does not constitute any common entity; it differs from person to person. Two half brothers can have the same paternal clan but differ in maternal clan; they can have the same maternal clan and different paternal clans. Marriages are forbidden for older brothers and sisters that are permitted for the younger ones. The rules differ from one blood relation to another, from blood relation with relative-by-marriage to blood relation with relative-by-marriage, from relative-by-marriage with relative-by-marriage to relative-by-marriage with relative-by-marriage.

If one still wishes to put the law of exogamy into European terms, then one might say: 1) blood relationship forbids marriage insofar as the blood relationship is recognized. This recognition varies from clan group to clan group. Sometimes in the same legal but extended clan, an exception is made to this recognition; mostly, however, the different autonomous clans which descend from the same distant ancestor are still bound by the law of exogamy. Generally, groups which have the same father but a different mother /160/ separate most quickly. 2) Relationship (other than blood) forbids marriage—insofar as the relationship is recognized between the parents of spouses; it sometimes permits marriage between children of spouses.

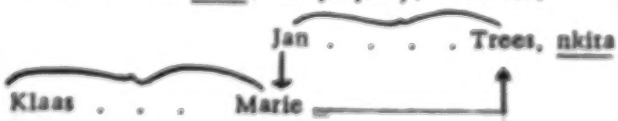
613 582 184 Here it should be observed once again, however, that the customs differ from region to region as regards this recognition; that, for instance, the stepson in many regions may marry his stepmother in a regular marriage; and that the violations are less severely judged and punished in proportion to the degree to which the forbidden relationships diverge.

596 necessary for her father or brother to have brought her to the man and
583 to have received money for her; another member of the family was
56 sufficient. She was sold by her family and accordingly, wherever the money had remained or whoever had received it, she had her rights in the family. Since the family maintained itself through the sale of the children of the female sex, the male children born of them were considered as the masters, the rightful claimants, the fathers. There was no exception to this rule; it was not to be altered, and no one had ever thought of disputing the place of the claimant or of laying claim to his rights. I have only heard of one single case of that sort, namely, at the succession of the Ruki, the younger brother was said to have killed his older brother in order to take over his place. He was said to have made a hole in his brother's proa, so that it sank when it reached the middle of the stream. The matter in itself seems an impossibility; also I consider it a legend, unless an accident might have happened that was interpreted in a mistaken or deliberately false manner.

596 The rightful claimant, bona wa nkana, sister's son, might
57 still be a child; nevertheless he was called father and everyone vied with one another in showing him the honor due a father. That was the unbreakable law, not only for the father common to the hamlet, boloi, but also for the father of each individual family.

Nkita

583 Nkita is what the woman is called who is bought with the money
602 that the father or brother has received for his daughter or sister on the occasion of her marriage. In reality, however, she is only the nkita, goods or property, of the sold woman. Nkita ekam, "my property," this woman calls her. For instance, Jan [335] sells his daughter, Marie, to Klaas and buys another wife, Trees, with the money received. The latter woman is now the nkita, the property, of Marie.



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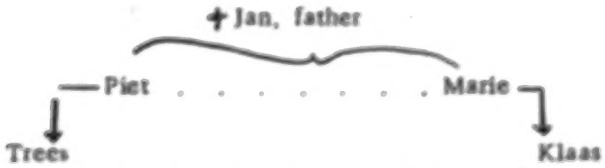
Or else, father Jan having died, Piet sold his sister, Marie, to Klaas and buys Trees with the money:

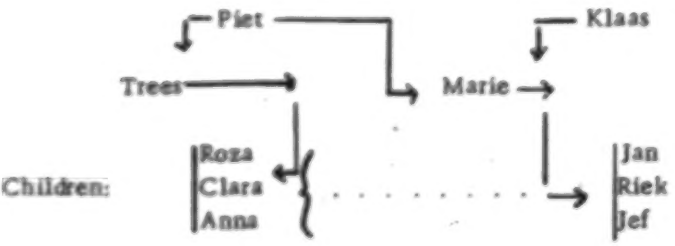


Practically speaking, Marie profited very little from her nkita. She had, it is true, certain rights over her nkita; thus, the latter considered her as her mistress, helped her in sickness and heavy work. Unfortunately for her, what she gained on the one side she lost again on the other side, in that she herself was also the nkita of another woman and consequently had the same obligations to fulfill towards the latter that her own nkita owed her. For example:

Jan, then, sold Marie to Klaas in order to buy Trees; Klaas, however, in order to be able to buy Marie, sold in turn his sister, Clara, to Lowie; Lowie acquired the necessary money to buy Clara by marrying off his sister, Anna. Thus, Trees then became the nkita of Marie, Marie the nkita of Clara, Clara of Anna, Anna of Agnes, etc. In short, every wife had her nkita and was, with few exceptions, the nkita of another wife. I say with few exceptions; for example, the wife was not the nkita of another woman if her husband had bought her with his own earned money. Practically speaking, this changed the matter very little. Also [336] there was no change if the nkita of a woman died; it was only a loss for the buyer or owner of that woman.

Rights of the Male Children in Relation to the Nkita of Their Mother

596 583 605 We have already seen that the right of succession and fatherhood passed to the male children of the sister, because she had been sold and had brought money into the family, or rather because she had a nkita there, a sort of guarantee for the money that had been received for her. Nkita-ship brought another right to them, namely, the female children born of the mother's nkita belonged to them; they could sell them and get themselves other women with the money. They could [582] not, however, marry them, since they were their cousins, and custom was opposed to any marriage between relatives. The boys could, [603] nevertheless, take the nkita of their mother as a wife, since the Negroes have no notion of affinity or relationship by marriage. The male children were, then, the owners of the female children that the nkita of their mother brought into the world:



These three girls, children of nkita Trees, belong to the three sons of Marie. If Marie had only one son, then Piet would have the right to trade the two other girls for money and to buy other wives with this money, either for himself or for his younger brother; but if she [Marie?] brought female children into the world, half of them belong to Marie's son.

583 604 If the nkita gave birth to no children of the female sex, the boys of Marie could resort to the husband of the nkita of their mother, namely, their uncle, nyangobika. If, however, he had no fortune, no money, [337] no wives, no girls to sell ... or only wives to whom others could lay claim and had more right, then they were disinherited, poor devils in society, and it cost them long years of work and much

12| It was said before that kinship and local groups are to be discussed. This statement needs clarification. When speaking of local groups in the present study, we do not intend to refer to groups which consist of non-related subgroups. It is to be clearly understood that the residence pattern will be used as the decisive criterion for subdividing the groups. Thus, closely related groups may be excluded, more distantly related groups may be included. Occasionally such local units also include groups which are not related to each other. [189]

Also, among those groups which I have called kinship groups in this study, a biological or genealogical connection which can be proved and expressed in juridical terms is quite doubtful. We shall not concern ourselves, however, with this lack of precision; rather, we shall regard as related those persons or groups of persons whom the Ekonda themselves consider as related. In my opinion there is no justification for disregarding the attitude of the natives since it is their attitude which determines the character and function of the groups. Murdock (10)

10. Social Structure, p. 47.

uses this approach to the kinship group, while using the term "lineage" for persons who can prove their relationship. We hasten to point out that also the local groups have a tendency toward "paternalization" (11), to construe a closer relationship.

11. Boelaert, "Clan équivoque," p. 17.

The Kinship Structure of the Ekonda

61
602 Among the Ekonda we find a system of groups which are ordered according to degrees of real or assumed kinship. This system is subdivided into a hierarchical structure of many ranks. Larger groups consist of between one to four groups of the next order. The relationships between the groups correspond to the relationships between their founding ancestors. In this fashion certain groups are described as the older or younger brother of

61 another group. According to their relationship to others, groups
602 may be designated as:

brother, younger or older;

brother or half brother (descended from various wives of the polygynous ancestor);

[848] Illegitimate child of the sister which, legally, as the child of the oldest brother or of the father of his mother, belongs to the group of the mother's relatives;

child of a boy who together with his sister has moved to the unit of his brothers-in-law and has settled there permanently;

son of a sister, who for some reason has separated from his paternal relatives and has moved in with the group of his mother or of one of his grandmothers.

601 Present-day social relationships are influenced by this variety of kinship relations. The kinship terms which refer to the relationships of the genuine or assumed ancestors to each other are occasionally transferred to the groups.

614 In this paper we shall describe the Isangi group (12) as an
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12. Müller, Fürstentum [Kingdom], pp. 68 ff., 125, 128 ff.

[101] example of hierarchical kinship structure. Isangi is a local group of the type described above (p. 1). Following the custom of the region, I shall refer to it as a "village." Until we have decided which terms are applicable to the various groups, I shall use the letters A to E for the individual ranks of the hierarchical structure. Within this system A shall stand for the smallest and E for the largest units (see Diagram 2).[1]

In addition to the three ranks of Group D in Isangi, there are others in the daughter villages (see Diagram 1). These may also include foreign groups, as, for example, the "Nkundó" group, Liimbu, in Wengí.

[1] [See page 6, category 116.—Analyst]

602 All the groups represented on the diagram (Diagram 2) 619 are known by their names to the adults of Isangi. In addition to 621 their regular name, all these groups also have a "drum" name [552] and an "honorary" name. Only the three Boyeke groups of rank B have different drum names but no individual group names. The arrangement of groups as found on the diagram does not represent a genealogy. It is based simply on the characteristics and functions of the individual groups [190] which in each case are equal to each other on one rank. Thus, we have here an organizational diagram, not a genealogical table. [Diagrams 1 and 2 appear here.]

The people of Isangi are also well aware of the relationships between the individual groups, but they are not as clearly conscious of the system as it appears in our diagram. They are able to describe the kinship relations between the groups and they can point out which functions are assigned to the individual groups without, however, regarding the groups as equal to one another because they have like functions and without seeing them as part of a system as we do. Thus, our diagram represents a systematization which, by its very nature, does not wholly do justice to reality. Correspondingly, therefore, there is no satisfactory Ekonda social terminology.

[191] [Diagram 3 appears here.] Just as in nonscientific European usage, the terms lack sufficient precision. Furthermore, in principle the nature of the groups between rank A to E and of the still larger units is similar, and as a result all the terms are used almost indiscriminately for large and small units alike.

Usually, the word ikundf (literally, "lap") refers to small 601 units, approximately those of ranks A and B, but it is also used 621 for larger and large units if their relatively close degree of 614 kinship is to be stressed. Thus it approximately corresponds to the meaning of the word "family" as used in nonscientific language. The word ilongo refers both to what in European usage is described as the small family [Kleinfamilie] and also to groups of ranks A and B.

614 He represents the A-group in the council of elders of the village and of the other large units. Since no members of the group [671] are considered capable of conducting affairs, all the legal transactions which they undertake are treated as though they had been sanctioned by the patriarch. To a large extent the members of the group may represent one another. In the absence of the elder, a younger member may act as the representative of the [623] group at council meetings. When the senior member dies, his function will be taken over by the next oldest member of the group.

An A-group will split up only through internal conflicts 614 which cannot be bridged or through a large population increase. 602 The newly-formed A-groups continue to maintain a close relationship which, at first, is much closer than among the B-groups whose A-groups have split much earlier. In the higher ranks cohesion after the split diminishes only gradually; thus many gradations develop in the feeling of cohesion. These gradations could not be even approximately reproduced in a diagram with any degree of exactitude. There is no formula by which the split takes place, as there is, for example, among the Tallensi (13)

13. Fortes, The Dynamics of Clanship, p. 34 f.

where it is determined by a certain number of generations. 614 Theoretically the A-groups are "eternal." The A-groups are 596 subdivided into small families. Within the polygynous families 592 nuclear families [Familienkerne] (14) have a relatively independent

14. Thurnwald, Menschliche Gesellschaft, Vol. 4, p. 12.

position economically. Each wife has her own house. A husband's wives and the wives of his sons have their houses within the same homestead. As the master of the homestead, the father has an open shelter where the men spend their time and [768] hold their meetings. Upon the death of the master of the

601 The children of my "female fathers" do not belong to my
614 clan.

4. Like my children, the children of my older and younger brothers are my "children" (bona; pl., bana). The Nkundo does not have any special terms for "son" and "daughter." He simply says "male child" and "female child."

5. The children of my "sons" are my grandchildren (bonkana; pl., bankana).

6. The children of these male grandchildren are my great grandchildren (bonkanola; pl., bankanola).

II. Bonyango

The mother's clan is called bonyango, from the word nyango, "mother," and includes:

1. The mother's father and his brothers, who are also nkoko.

2. Their daughters, including my own mother, who are "mothers" (nyango; pl., banyango). The brothers of my "mothers" are my "male mothers" (nyangompame; pl., ba-).

3. The sons and daughters of my "male mothers," who are thus of my generation in our sense but who, to the Nkundo, are my "children," since to them I am legally identified with my mother and therefore I am their "male mother." This explains
[602] the unusual and privileged position which I hold in my mother's clan.

4. The children of my "children" are my "grandchildren."
[219] [Table 1 appears here.] [220]

III. Bokanga and Banankana

601 A Nkundo has other blood relatives scattered among the clans
602 who have married a woman of his own clan, be it a "female father," a sister, or a daughter. A Nkundo calls all the unrelated members of these clans bokanga. The related members, including children born to the women of his clan, he calls impersonally sisters' children, "children of a sister of the clan" (bonankana; pl.,

[text continues on page 4]

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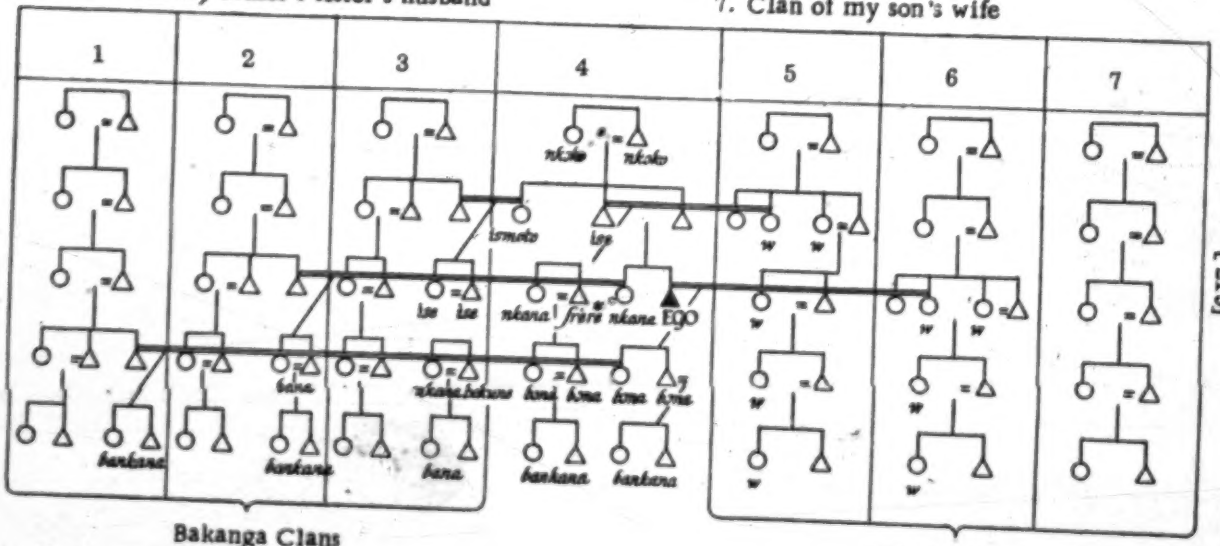
9: Boelaert--3 E,M-5 (ca. 1945) 1951 FO32 Mongo FO32 Nkundu

Table 1

Relatives and Affinals through the Paternal Clan

1. Clan of my daughter's husband
2. Clan of my sister's husband
3. Clan of my father's sister's husband
4. My own clan
5. Clan of my father's brother's wife
6. Clan of my wife
7. Clan of my son's wife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601 banankana). As a result, the children are legally identified
602 with their mothers. Thus, my sister's child is a child (bona) to me, or a sister's child (bonankana), but to my own child he would be father (ise).

In addition, he has maternal blood relatives, children of my mother's sisters, who are thus his "brothers and sisters," or children of the daughters of his "male mothers." Since these last daughters are his "children," their children would be his "grandchildren." Again, all the members of these clans who are unrelated by blood are his bokanga.

IV. Likilo

601 There are affinal clans which have given wives (wali; pl.,
602 baali) to my clan. This does not, of course, concern my mother's
582 clan, which is a clan related by blood, but rather clans which have given wives, be it to a classificatory "father," to one of their sons, or to one of the sons of the latter. The Nkundo calls all the members of these clans -- with the exception of the woman -- bokilo (pl., bakilo). The Nkundo, merely by marrying a woman, at the same time marries all her legal younger sisters, that is to say, all the bakune [Ed., bankana?] and bana of this woman. Similarly, the woman marries not only a man, but at the same time all his legal younger brothers, that is, all the bakune and bana of this man (except the children of their own union).

601 Just as the clans which have received a wife from my clan thus
602 include bokanga and sisters' sons, so also clans that have given us a wife include bakilo and "wives." Clans which have given a wife to my bonyango follow the same rules.

Comments

121 In several recent studies, especially in South Africa, four
614 rules have been defined which govern classificatory terminology.
602 The first rule is that of the "unity of the lineage": The lineage as a whole is classified as belonging to a particular 'generation'

121 614 602 in its relations to another lineage as a whole" (Holleman, op. cit., p. 9). The author adds, "the unity of the lineage may be broken by a division into affines and cognatic, each with their distinctive terminology, in which the cognatic section is one 'generation' lower than the affinal section" (p. 5.).

121 614 602 601 Just as we speak of a mother society or a sister society, so the Nkundo can also consider an affinal clan as a moral person and speak of his mother's clan as of his mother, of a bokanga clan, of a bokilo clan. I do not think that the term bokanga or bokilo implies an idea of generation when it is applied to an individual, any more than does the French term "parent-in-law," or member of my family-in-law. The Nkundo would certainly not admit what the author cited here writes [221] [Table 2 appears here.] [222] about the Hera: "in inter-lineage relations, ... once the relationship between Ego and any cognatic relative is determined, all the cognates of the same lineage as that relative will bear the same degree of kinship as himself to Ego, regardless of the differences in generation . . . between themselves or as compared with Ego" (p. 5.).

The second rule would be that the clan which provides us a wife (bokilo clan of the Nkundo) is considered our "father," and thus the clan which receives a wife from our clan would be considered a "son." Moreover, among the Nkundo is understood: "We have given you our daughter as a wife, so you are our son." But also implied is: "We have enriched you by our marriage payment, and our children are your "fathers." These ideas, however, are not reflected in the terminology between affinals. Moreover, the fact that the Nkundo readily uses the term bokilo for his bokanga is significant.

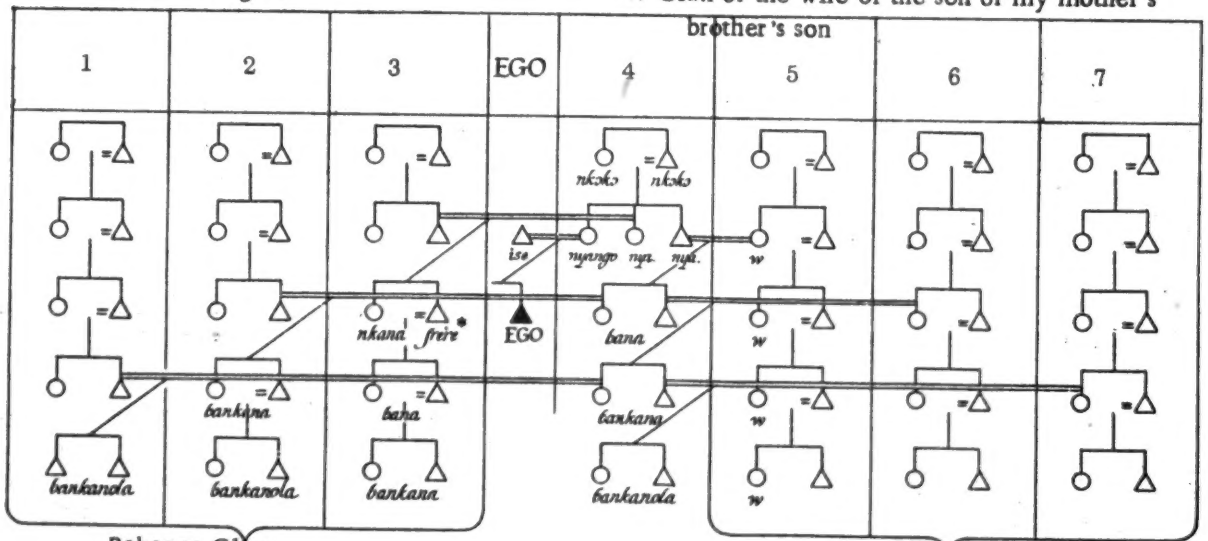
Third rule: In lineages directly related to Ego's lineage, "the female line seems to be potentially one 'generation' lower than the agnatic male line" (p. 11). The author tells us that: "This duality is even revealed in agnatic relations . . . Ego calls his . . . father's sister either vatete (father's sister) or hanzwadzi (sister)." Thus, the women of directly related clans would be considered to belong to a lower generation than the men.

[Text continues on page 7]

Table 2

Relatives and Affinals through the Paternal Clan

1. Clan of the husband of the daughter of my mother's brother's son
2. Clan of the husband of my mother's brother's daughter
3. Clan of my mother's sister's husband
4. My mother's clan
5. Clan of my mother's brother's wife
6. Clan of the wife of my mother's brother's son
7. Clan of the wife of the son of my mother's brother's son



[*frère = brother in French]

9: Boelaert--6 E,M-5 (ca.1945) 1951 FO32 Mongo FO32 Nkundu

121
602
614
601

It must be stated that the tables of the bakanga clans presented by the author do not reflect this rule, since all members of these clans not related by blood, males as well as females, are designated as vakwasha = children-in-law. In the bakilo clans the rule seems to be founded on the Hera idea (according to the interpretation of the author) that all the women of my wife's clan are my "wives," no matter what their generation or age. This rule is not applicable to the Nkundo either in ideas or terminology.

There is still the fourth rule which the author quoted here uses often but does not interpret in his tables where it is completely opposed to the second rule: the child is legally identified with its mother. According to the second rule, the child of my father's sister would be my grandchild, and at the same time, according to the fourth rule, it would be my "father."

For the Nkundo, the fourth rule explains how this child is my "father," while the child of my mother's brother is my "child."

One may thus conclude that two rules explain the details of the classificatory system of the Nkundo:

1. In clans which have given a wife to our clan, all the women who are legally younger sisters of this wife, exclusively, are "wives" of all the men, exclusively, who are legally younger brothers of the husband.

2. In clans which have received a wife from our clan, the children born of this wife are identified with their mother by the children of this wife's brothers.